

May 1977

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

(Executive Summary)

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) is an avowedly radical organization formed in 1963 by Richard J. Barnet and Marcus G. Raskin, both of whom had backgrounds of government employment. Barnet had worked for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, while Raskin had worked for several members of Congress and for the National Security Council. Along with Barnet and Raskin, the most prominent IPS figure has probably been Resident IPS Fellow Arthur I. Waskow, who served at one time as a legislative assistant to Congressman Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin. All three have also been noticeably active in radical movements, including the anti-Vietnam war movement; Barnet traveled to Communist North Vietnam during the war, and both Barnet and Raskin were reported to have had contact with representatives of the Communist government of Hanoi in Paris during the same period.

The Institute exists to influence the formation of public policy, and it operates to this end as a tax-exempt, non-profit organization incorporated in the District of Columbia. Support for IPS programs over the years has come from several colleges and universities and from a number of major tax-exempt foundations, including the Ford Foundation, the Samuel Rubin Foundation, the Field Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, and the Stern Family Fund. It appears that the major single contributor at this point is the Samuel Rubin Foundation, which is reported to have contributed an amount equal to half the IPS operating budget in 1975. The Institute has a budget of approximately \$1,000,000 at present as compared to \$177,432.82 for its first full year of operation (1963-1964).

IPS has maintained a close relationship with several universities and colleges, including, at various times, the State University

IPS seminars and conferences have been characterized by participation from diverse sections of American life, especially government, organized labor, and the education and other professions. A number of Congressmen and Congressional aides have spoken at IPS conferences, and several of the members of Congress associated with IPS programs over the years have been prominently identified with activities of the influential and liberal Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL).

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) was first incorporated in Washington, D.C., in November 1962; it did not begin operations, however, until October 1963. An official IPS publication, The First Three Years of the Institute for Policy Studies, 1963-1966, stated that

The Institute for Policy Studies, which opened in October 1963, is an independent center for research, education, and social invention on public policy problems in Washington, D.C. The Fellows of the Institute sometimes begin from theoretical analyses of social change and work toward the application of theory to a particular social problem; sometimes they begin from the perception of a specific social issue and work toward the construction of theory. Frequently the Fellows try to test theory by experimenting with "social inventions"-- that is, practical projects that try to deal with an important social difficulty. From the success or failure, or unexpected results, of these projects the Fellows then try to develop a new understanding of social change.

The same publication asserted that the IPS "guards the freedom of the Fellows to be critical and creative by refusing government contracts and consultantships, although its Fellows do often (without pay) advise government agencies and governmentally financed projects." As will be seen at a later point in this study, IPS programs have been characterized over the years by a heavy degree of participation on the part of people from Congressional offices and from agencies of the executive branch of government.

That IPS has always been inseparable from governmental concerns in its basic conception is clearly indicated by the following passage taken from another Institute publication, Beginning the Second Decade, 1963-1973:

The Institute for Policy Studies was formed by a group of men each of whom had come to Washington between 1958 and 1962 to work in or on the edges of government. In their work and in talking with each other, they found that their experiences and efforts in Washington changed their views of government and society. These men were in their 20s and 30s, all were white, all were university-trained. They had come to Washington believing that the American governing process was mostly responsive to public pressure

and public needs; they found that the government was chiefly responsive to institutional interests that were divorced from public need. They wondered whether the major institutions of American life had not become inimical to the life and safety of the public. They had come believing that their educations were reasonably accurate in describing the United States -- even in describing "human behavior"-- and reasonably helpful in providing analytical tools by which to understand both; they discovered that both descriptions and analytical tools had to be totally remade if they were to be able to understand the world of policy, politics and power. But most important, they did not shrug off their discoveries; they listened carefully to the changes within them and decided to act upon them.

BASIC AIMS OF IPS

The above passage indicates two essential things about the IPS and its reason for being. It indicates that the Institute's founders hoped to have an impact upon governmental policy, and it indicates that the Institute's founders hoped that this impact would be a radical one. The rhetoric of IPS publications is always couched in radical terms, bespeaking a fundamental dissatisfaction with the very bases of American society and government; indeed, it is not unfair to say that the rhetoric of IPS and its leaders bespeaks an essentially revolutionary perspective on our society and the means required to cure its presumed ills -- an outright rejection, if one prefers, of our society, our government, and our economic system.

Such a perspective is reflected in the following passage taken from Beginning the Second Decade, referring again to the "group of men" whose concerns had led to the founding of IPS:

 Their action focused around two perceptions:
 -- that government had become unresponsive and destructive in large part because all fresh political ideas and moral truths were smothered in the bureaucratic process; and
 -- that the universities were churning out false images and ideas because they insisted that social action be kept totally distinct from social theory except where it served the status quo.

The linking of social theory and social action has always been central to the rationale for IPS, a fact indicated by the same

publication's emphasis "on the premise that social theory must be informed by, as well as inform, social action." Tied to this belief is an equally strong belief that the American university has failed to produce scholarship sufficiently radical to cause or at least aid meaningful change in our political, social, and economic life. A mimeographed five-page publication, The Institute for Policy Studies, issued shortly before the formal opening of IPS in 1963, set forth the following with respect to what the new organization would be:

The Institute for Policy Studies has recently been established in Washington, D.C. It will bring university scholars and other creative thinkers to the Capital to carry on research on key problems of public policy and American civilization under conditions permitting close contact with the policy making process. The Institute will also train younger scholars to carry on research in these areas.

IPS AND THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY

The same prospectus reflects a concern with what the founders of IPS saw as "relationships between government and the academic community" that are "either too close to or too far from the operations of government." In either case, the result was seen as harmful to the advancement of proper public policy aims. Such "too-close associations" as consultantships and contract research, it was argued, tend to convert academicians into "supporters of government policies, rather than critics [emphasis in original]," so that scholars "are not -- or do not feel -- invited to challenge existing policy (especially the basic premises) much less to suggest or prepare alternatives." Contrarily, researchers and institutions "too far from the operations of government" suffer from possibly being "out of touch with the changing ways in which government actually operates, and may transmit, both in their writings and their curricula, an out-of-date or largely theoretical picture" of policy formation and the interplay of political and administrative forces [emphasis in original].

The aim, with respect to American higher education, was to be "a growing corps of teachers, researchers, and scholars, who will return to their respective universities with a more sophisticated and realistic awareness of how government really operates," such awareness to be reflected in both teaching and writing, including the writing of social science textbooks. The hoped-for "new curricula" would bear down on "real problems" in government and society, encouraging students "to be more policy and solution-minded." In other words, the goal was an educational process

that fed from, and in turn stimulated, radical social and political activism; thus, the IPS prospectus could assert that an "effort will be made to avoid research which is primarily of value to the development of particular academic disciplines." This view is buttressed by the following statement from the same publication:

(d) It [IPS] will also, in the process, produce a body of new knowledge in the field of political and social science -- not merely ivory-tower, abstract knowledge that disregards existing institutions and forces, but, hopefully, knowledge practically enough grounded to point to the how as well as the what of solutions to difficult public problems [emphasis in original].

IPS AND GOVERNMENT

As already indicated, a primary goal of the IPS program, including the Institute's concentrated efforts among academics, was to be impact on the policy-making processes of government in the interests of a radical transformation of American society. Thus, it would be necessary to maintain maximum contact with government personnel as well as with academic types. The following language, drawn from the Encyclopedia of Associations, is reflective of the interaction contemplated:

..."Center of intellectual activity in which scholars and government officials can exchange ideas and collaborate on some of the problems most critically in need of new thought." Appoints fellows who frame the research questions they pursue and are able to take independent and critical positions. Work of the fellows has three basic goals: "to study the governmental process at first hand to describe more adequately the social, political, and economic reality within which major public problems must be considered; to fashion possible solutions to some of these problems; and to consider how these solutions might be put into effect through the institutions of society." Sponsors seminars, conferences, and lectures.

RADICAL PERSPECTIVE OF IPS

That the "possible solutions" were to be radical ones is made clear in a detailed discussion published in the Spring 1968 issue of the leftist journal New University Thought. This article has particular significance because it was written by Arthur Waskow, perhaps the most prominent of all IPS Fellows

since the Institute's formation. Waskow's credentials as an extreme radical activist are beyond cavil. He has been associated with such militantly radical movements as Students for a Democratic Society and the most pro-Hanoi and disruptive segments of the Communist-dominated "peace" movement during the Vietnam war. As he stated in the 1968 article, "I have a gut preference for disorder," and this preference has characterized his entire career as a radical scholar and activist.

The Waskow article provides the following insight -- from the inside, so to speak -- into just what IPS was intended to be:

...The Institute is not just an ordinary research center because it's committed to the idea that to develop social theory one must be involved in social action and in social experiment. And therefore, the Institute stands on the bare edge of custom in the United States as to what an educational research institution is, as against what a political institution is. By standing on that bare edge, it creates tension.

The result of this "tension" will, in Waskow's view, be what he calls "creative disorder." This creative disorder can be used to aid in the development of revolution, hopefully on an international scale. Waskow is much concerned, for example, with whether "the underclass of the world is going to be able to create an effective social technology of rebellion. The possibility exists; that is clear. Whether it works, whether it becomes real, is not clear [emphasis in original]." Waskow's view of means and ends, as explained in the same article, is especially instructive:

The procedure I have outlined offers one way of coping with the traditional problem of means and ends. In effect, it says that the means are the ends or that the ends become the means. In a sense it is the ends that justify the means but only by becoming merged with them. If one has identified an end goal which one considers desirable, then if one translates that goal bodily into the present as a means to the achievement of the end, one has avoided the problem of judging whether certain means are legitimate to achieve certain ends [emphasis in original].

IPS FINANCING

As stated at the outset, the Institute for Policy Studies, in its own words, "opened in October 1963." It had, however, been formally incorporated in the District of Columbia in November 1962.

During the intervening months, the Institute's founders gathered money from a variety of sources with a view to starting operations. As IPS later described it, "By the fall of 1963 they had been able to bring together enough money from small and middle-sized foundations to open the Institute for Policy Studies. They also secured the help and support of a group of colleges and universities." The same publication, Beginning the Second Decade, particularly acknowledges "an initial major grant from the Stern Family Fund," in addition to the following principal sources:

- * the Bernstein Foundation and a bequest from Dan Bernstein,
- * the Fontaney Corporation,
- * the Janss Foundation,
- * Irving F. Laucks,
- * the Rubin Foundation,
- * the San Francisco Foundation,
- * the Sperry family,
- * the late James P. Warburg and the Warburg family, and
- * the Field Foundation.

The "group of colleges and universities" from which assistance was received included the State University of New York at Stony Brook, the University of California at Berkeley, Cornell University, the University of Illinois, Reed College, Antioch College, Tougaloo College, and Virginia Theological Seminary. Over the years, the Institute has maintained an especially close relationship with Antioch College, whose president, James Dixon, was among the earliest Institute trustees.

Other sources of significant financing for IPS which have been identified include the following:

- * the Ford Foundation,
- * the Institute for International Order,
- * the Society for the Psychological Studies of Social Issues,
- * the National Board of the Presbyterian Church,
- * the Cudahy Fund,
- * Jennifer Cafritz,
- * Watts E. Meyer,
- * Michael Gellert,
- * the Commonwealth Fund,
- * the Jacob Ziskind Trust,
- * the Palisades Foundation, and
- * Community Research and Development, Inc.

Support of a different sort has been derived from various publishers who have issued a stream of volumes written by IPS personnel and associates over the years. In addition, information

has been developed which indicates that in 1966, at least \$6,500 was contributed to IPS by the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation, an organization known to be a major source of funds for extreme radical and, in some cases, outright pro-Communist groups.

The Institute for Policy Studies describes itself as "a non-profit, tax-exempt educational institution incorporated in the District of Columbia" and is classified as a 501(c)(3) organization under the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. Thus, contributions made to the IPS are tax-deductible. The Institute's budget has grown considerably since 1963, as shown by a number of sources available. The Institute's own statement of expenses for the fiscal year ending on September 30, 1965, showed total expenses of \$213,878.36 and a projected budget for the 1965-66 academic year of \$220,000.00; the budget projected by the IPS co-directors for the 1966-67 academic year was \$238,000.00. IPS tax returns for taxable years ending September 30, 1964, and the same day in 1965, 1966, 1967, and 1968 reflect the following total expense figures: \$177,432.82 (1964); \$213,878.36 (1965); \$255,109.41 (1966); \$363,321.51 (1967); and \$359,858.31 (1968). A "Cash Flow-1968" statement on the IPS letterhead revealed that "The Institute requires approximately \$32,000. each month," or \$384,000 per year. Early in 1970, a source estimated that the IPS budget had reached approximately \$400,000 per annum. The most recent indication has been an article in the Washington Post for January 23, 1977, in which it was stated:

The institute's federal tax return for 1975 shows that many of its major supporters during the '60s -- the Stern Family Fund, the Daniel J. Bernstein Foundation, the Janss Foundation -- had reduced their contributions to \$50,000 or less. The largest single grant -- \$450,000, nearly half the IPS operating budget -- came from the Samuel Rubin Foundation in New York....

Thus, the Institute for Policy Studies has gone from a total expense figure of \$177,432.82 for the October 1, 1963-September 30, 1964 year (its first full year of operation for tax purposes) to an operating budget that today approaches \$1,000,000. Further, as indicated by the Washington Post article, a single donor -- the Samuel Rubin Foundation -- contributed, by itself, more money in 1975 than it took to operate the entire Institute in 1970; in fact, based on the available data, it would appear that IPS at least doubled its budget from 1970 to 1975 alone.

IPS FOUNDERS

When IPS was incorporated in November 1962, there were three trustees listed on the certificate of incorporation. They were David Riesman, professor of political science at Harvard University, who later served as an IPS Visiting Fellow, and Marcus

Raskin and Richard J. Barnet, co-directors of IPS since its inception. Along with Arthur Waskow, Barnet and Raskin are probably the best-known of all IPS personnel and the most intimately identified with the Institute's efforts. All three men were, prior to the founding of IPS, connected with the government at some point; and all three seem to share a similarly radical perspective on many issues.

A complete tabulation of available data on the radical backgrounds of all those associated with IPS over the years would obviously be far beyond the scope of a study such as this. However, because it is fair to say that the Institute for Policy Studies has been since its inception a reflection, in a very real sense, of Raskin, Barnet, and Waskow, the following information is essential to any informed understanding of what IPS is intended to be.

RICHARD J. BARNET

Richard J. Barnet, Co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, has been a fellow of the Center for International Studies at Princeton and of the Russian Research Center at Harvard. In 1961, he was appointed a Foreign Affairs Officer in the Department of State's Disarmament Administration; he subsequently became Deputy Director of Political Research for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Barnet has been an Advisor for the Council for a Liveable World, a leftist pressure group that was the third-highest spender of the lobbying organizations which filed reports in 1968. The Council reportedly takes credit for assuring the original election victory of Senator George McGovern by having its membership contribute some \$22,000 to the Senator's campaign.

In February 1969, Barnet served as a speaker at the Third National Mobilization of an organization known as Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam (CALCAV), a militantly anti-Vietnam war group described by the House Committee on Internal Security as having "given aid and support to American deserters abroad" during the course of the war in Southeast Asia. CALCAV was among the active organizational components of a succession of anti-Vietnam war coalitions the blatant Communist control or domination of which was thoroughly documented in Congressional hearings and reports over a period of many years.

It was reported that in March 1969, Barnet participated in talks in Paris with negotiators from Hanoi and from the National Liberation Front, the Hanoi-run instrumentality through which the Communists were fighting to take over all of Vietnam.

In November 1969, Barnet traveled to Communist North Vietnam with William Meyers, both of them traveling as leading members of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, an organization described by the House Committee on Internal Security as having "several leaders who have close ties to the CPUSA [Communist Party, USA] -front National Lawyers Guild." While he was in North Vietnam, Barnet participated in a "solidarity" rally staged by organizations operated as anti-American propaganda enterprises by the Communist government. Barnet spoke at the rally, denouncing United States "aggression," according to reports published at the time.

In 1970, Barnet was a member of the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam (COL). The House Committee on Internal Security, after careful investigation, reported that the COL was an offshoot of the Communist-dominated New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe) and that the COL was a "propaganda tool of the North Vietnamese Government," operating "at the specific bidding of the communists in Hanoi."

MARCUS G. RASKIN

Marcus G. Raskin, also a Co-Director of the Institute for Policy Studies, worked over a period of months in 1960 and 1961 for several members of Congress, including, among others, Representatives Herman Toll of Pennsylvania, James Roosevelt of California, Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, and William S. Moorhead of Pennsylvania. Subsequently, in 1961, he went on to serve on the staff of the National Security Council as an aide to McGeorge Bundy, who later was to head the Ford Foundation. In 1963, Raskin served as a member of the American delegation to an 18-nation disarmament conference in Geneva.

With Waskow, Raskin co-authored a paper for Representative Kastenmeier that advocated unilateral disarmament by the United States; this paper, copyrighted in 1961, was later expanded into a book by Waskow. Raskin then served as group secretary for a publishing project known as the Liberal Papers, which called for recognition and United Nations membership for Communist China, East Germany, North Korea, and North Vietnam; unilateral scrapping of nuclear testing by the United States; the dismantling of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); abandonment of Berlin; allowing the Soviet Union to plug in to the American DEW early warning defense system; and neutralization of Central Europe in accordance with the Rapacki Plan, a scheme advanced by the Communist government of Poland in line with the dictates of the Kremlin.

A trustee of Antioch College, Raskin served as a member of the Board of Directors of Ramparts Magazine, described by the House Committee on Internal Security as a "pro-Hanoi, pro-Castro west coast" publication.

In 1968, Raskin was chairman of the Committee for the Formation of a New Party, which formed the radical Socialist-oriented New Party, more recently styled the People's Party. A statement was issued that called for "dismantling of an obsolete, dangerous military establishment that is over-extended and over-reaching" and which insisted "that revolution in other nations or insurgencies therein should not cause interventions and suppressions by the American military."

At one time associated with the Radical Education Project of Students for a Democratic Society, Raskin was indicted and subsequently acquitted, along with four other defendants (Dr. Benjamin Spock, Michael Ferber, Mitchell Goodman, and Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr.), of conspiracy to counsel draft evasion in the famous Vietnam-era case in Boston, Massachusetts.

He was also a member of the so-called Committee to Defend the Conspiracy, set up to aid the defendants in the celebrated case resulting from the violent disruptions perpetrated by the anti-Vietnam war movement at the August 1968 national convention of the Democratic Party in Chicago, Illinois. One of the defendants has recently been quoted as saying that he and his fellows were all "guilty as hell" of conspiring to disrupt the convention with massive street confrontations.

In February 1969, Raskin was among the speakers at the national mobilization of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam at which Barnet also appeared.

The Daily World, official newspaper of the Communist Party, USA, noted in its edition for April 11, 1972, that Raskin had recently returned from Paris where he had gone as part of the "first delegation of prominent Americans to meet with representatives of the liberation forces of Indochina since the U.S. sabotaged the peace talks...." While in Paris, the delegation met with Nguyen Minh Vy, Deputy Chief Delegate for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister for the Hanoi-run Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, political apparatus of the NLF; and unnamed representatives of the Khmer National United Front of Cambodia. The delegation, according to the Daily World account, had been sponsored by the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), which was characterized in 1971 by the House Committee on Internal Security as being under the "generally predominant influence" of the Communist Party, USA.

More recently, Raskin has been a member of the Advisory Board of the Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, perhaps best known as publisher of Counterspy, the anti-intelligence community sheet that publicized the names and addresses of several employees of the Central Intelligence Agency. It will be recalled that after this publicity, Richard Welch, CIA Station Chief in Athens, Greece, was brutally murdered.

With his colleague Richard Barnet, Raskin has also recently served as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund, thoroughly documented as a front group for the Trotskyite Communist Socialist Workers Party in the SWP's campaign of legal and other harassment designed to cripple America's domestic intelligence capability. Virtually every national staff functionary of the PRDF, for example, is known to be a member of the SWP, which operates as a section of the Trotskyite Fourth International, a world-wide Communist apparatus that has engaged in terrorist violence on a significant scale. The SWP itself was characterized by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive Communist organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

ARTHUR WASKOW

Arthur Waskow, Resident Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, served at one time as a legislative assistant to Representative Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, a prominent member of the liberal Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL), several of whose members have participated in IPS activities over the years. Waskow was also a senior staff member at the Peace Research Institute (PRI) from 1961 until 1963 when the PRI was merged with IPS.

Like Raskin, Waskow was at one time associated with the Radical Education Project of Students for a Democratic Society. In 1967, Waskow wrote in the official SDS newspaper, New Left Notes, that "since joining SDS in 1963 I have had nothing to complain about."

According to records published in a 1970 report of the Illinois Crime Investigating Commission, Arthur Waskow contributed \$500 toward legal fees and bail bond expenses raised to aid the 284 persons arrested during the so-called SDS "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago, Illinois, on October 8-11, 1969.

Waskow has served as a contributing editor for the "pro-Hanoi, pro-Castro" Ramparts Magazine; as a member of the board of the American Committee on Africa, which, according to published accounts, has functioned partially as a U.S. support group for certain African terrorist movements; and as an active member of

the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), an anti-defense group. He has also worked for the Council for a Liveable World.

In 1967, Waskow participated actively in the creation of an organization known as the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP), later serving as a member of the NCNP Executive Board. The formation and subsequent operation of the NCNP, as shown by numerous authoritative accounts which are a matter of public record, were characterized by very concentrated efforts by a large number of members and functionaries of the Communist Party, USA.

In 1967, Waskow also participated in the demonstrations conducted at the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (National Mobe), the intermediate stage between the Spring Mobilization Committee and the New Mobilization Committee. Both Spring Mobe and New Mobe were officially cited as Communist-dominated in reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and House Committee on Internal Security, respectively. Waskow was listed as being among movement activists who participated in planning for National Mobe's August 1968 disruption of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois, as shown by official minutes of National Mobe's Administrative Committee; and he was also among the members of the Committee to Defend the Conspiracy, which operated as a defense group for the defendants in the so-called "Chicago Conspiracy Trial" which resulted from the violent confrontations staged by the National Mobe during the convention.

In 1968, Waskow was arrested on election day in Washington, D.C., for demonstrating without a permit; in June 1969, he was again arrested, this time while leading an anti-Vietnam war protest at the Pentagon. Waskow was actively involved in staging the so-called "Counter-Inaugural" protests held by the Communist-dominated National Mobilization Committee in Washington, D.C., early in 1969; and in February 1969, he also appeared as a speaker at the Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam mobilization in Washington.

Official New Mobe documents reflect that Waskow served as a member of the New Mobe Steering Committee and the New Mobe Washington Action Committee, official New Mobe agency for planning the massive demonstrations against the Vietnam war in Washington, D.C., on November 13-15, 1969, organized primarily by New Mobe, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, and the SWP-controlled Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. (It will be remembered that the Vietnam Moratorium Committee was largely the brainchild of Sam Brown, currently serving as head of the ACTION agency in the Carter Administration.)

In June 1970, Waskow participated in the New Mobe's Strategy Action Conference in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, at which time Waskow, Rennie Davis, and former SDS activist Michael Lerner presented to the conference a plan to "Liberate Washington" by means of disruptive confrontation-style demonstrations as part of an overall program of militant anti-Vietnam war activities.

In view of the above data, it is of interest to note that Waskow was once asked by American University to serve as an "expert consultant" to the Federally-funded American University Center for the Administration of Justice. It was stated that Waskow might "occasionally lecture on police problems."

IPS BOARD OF TRUSTEES

In addition to its two co-directors, the Institute for Policy Studies has a Board of Trustees, which is made up of individuals drawn from several areas of our national life. The initial membership, as listed in the Institute's 1963 brochure, included the following:

- * Thurman Arnold, former Judge of the Court of Appeals and Senior Partner of Arnold, Fortas, and Porter, Washington, D.C.;
- * Richard J. Barnet, Princeton University and formerly of the State Department;
- * David F. Cavers, Professor of Law and formerly Associate Dean of Harvard Law School;
- * James Dixon, President, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio;
- * Freeman Dyson, Physicist, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, N.J.;
- * Robert M. Herzstein, Attorney;
- * Arthur Larson, Director of the World Rule of Law Center, Professor of Law at Duke University, and formerly Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA);
- * Hans J. Morgenthau, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago;
- * Steven Muller, Director of the Center of International Studies, Cornell University;

- * Gerard Piel, publisher of the Scientific American;
- * Marcus Raskin, formerly of the White House National Security Council staff;
- * David Riesman, Professor of Political Science, Harvard University;
- * Philip M. Stern, formerly Deputy Assistant Secretary of State;
- * James P. Warburg, author and foreign policy analyst.

A later publication, The First Three Years of the Institute for Policy Studies, 1963-1966, carried the following list, somewhat expanded from the 1963 list:

Thurman Arnold, Arnold and Porter;
Richard J. Barnet, Institute for Policy Studies;
David Cavers, Harvard Law School;
James Dixon, Antioch College;
Robert Eichholz, Washington, D.C.;
Clyde Ferguson, Howard University Law School;
Michael Gellert, Burnham and Company, New York;
Robert Herzstein, Arnold and Porter;
Christopher Jencks, Institute for Policy Studies;
Arthur Larson, Duke University;
Hans Morgenthau, University of Chicago;
Steven Muller, Cornell University;
Gerard Piel, Scientific American;
Eliot Pratt, New York City;
Marcus G. Raskin, Institute for Policy Studies;
Walter Ridder, Ridder Publications;
David Riesman, Harvard University;
Philip Stern, Washington, D.C.;
James P. Warburg, New York City;
Arthur I. Waskow, Institute for Policy Studies;
Peter Weiss, Langner, Parry, Card, and Langner.

Two more recent IPS publications, Beginning the Second Decade, 1963-1973, and The Problem of the Federal Budget, issued November 1975, include more up-to-date listings which reflect a number of changes. The following individuals were no longer listed as members of the IPS Board of Trustees as of 1973: Arnold, Cavers, Eichholz, Ferguson, Larson, Morgenthau, Muller, Piel, Pratt, Ridder, Riesman, and Warburg. In several cases, the replacements were drawn from the ranks of those who had been active in such organizations as SDS and the more radical components of the movement against American involvement in Vietnam. The complete list is as follows:

Richard J. Barnet (1973, 1975);
Robert Borosage (1975);
Robb Burlage (1973, 1975);
Charlotte Bunch (1973, 1975);
Bettina Conner (1973, 1975);
James Dixon (1973, 1975);
Michael Gellert (1973);
Sidney Harman (1975);
Robert Herzstein (1973);
Edwin Janss, Jr. (1973, 1975);
Christopher Jencks (1973, 1975);
Rev. Edgar Lockwood (1973, 1975);
Marcus Raskin (1973, 1975);
Fiona Rust (1973, 1975);
Melvin Seiden (1973, 1975);
Frank Smith (1973, 1975);
Tina Smith (1973, 1975);
Rita Sperry (1973, 1975);
Philip Stern (1973);
Cynthia Washington, (1973, 1975);
Arthur Waskow (1973, 1975);
Lee Webb (1975);
Peter Weiss (1973, 1975; listed as chairman in 1975);
Stanley Weiss (1973, 1975);
Garry Wills (1973, 1975).

Of the additions, Burlage, Bunch, and Webb have all reportedly been affiliated at one time or another with various projects of Students for a Democratic Society; Webb has also worked for the Washington office of the Guardian, described many times in Congressional reports as a Communist newsweekly which has lately assumed a distinctly Maoist Communist stance. Jencks participated in a September 1967 meeting of movement activists and Vietnamese Communist representatives in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, at which he reportedly stated that the Vietnam war was indicative of a "sickness in the American system which would only be cured by radical political remedies." It has also been reported that Jencks "stated that the common bond between the New Left and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is...a common enemy -- the United States Government, the system, the Establishment."

IPS STAFF

The rest of the "Institute community" is made up of the various categories of IPS Fellows and the IPS staff. Beginning the Second Decade, 1963-1973, lists Richard Hubbard as Secretary to the Board of Trustees, Richard Barnet and Marcus Raskin as Co-

Directors, Tina Smith as Administrative Fellow, and Mitchell Rogovin as General Counsel. The same source lists the following as staff personnel:

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|------------------|-----------------|
| Norma Allen | Helen Hopps |
| Michael Anderson | Larry Janss |
| Linda Barnes | Mary Saville |
| Barbara Bick | Greta Smith |
| Susan Berner | Rebecca Switzer |
| Joe Collins | Kathy Terzi |
| Tina Conner | Hugo Valladares |
| Judy Davis | Pastell Vann |
| Cindy Elliot | Bethany Weidner |
| Dennis Green | Margot White |
| Jan Hackman | Alyce Wiley |
| Heather Hansen | |

IPS FELLOWS

There are three categories of IPS Fellows. Resident Fellows are, in the words of an IPS booklet, "presumed to be permanent members of the Institute faculty." Visiting Fellows are described as "full-time faculty for a limited period." Associate Fellows are categorized as "part-time faculty who have led seminars, participated in social inventions, or have engaged in individual research projects supported by the Institute." The work of these three types of IPS Fellows is supplemented by that of still another category of IPS-affiliated individual, the "Lecturers-on-Occasion," defined as "Speakers who have visited the Institute briefly to lead formal seminars, lecture to Fellows and students, or present papers on the results of their individual work."

Beginning the Second Decade, 1963-1973, lists the following individuals as IPS Fellows, in addition to Co-Directors Richard Barnet and Marcus Raskin, Administrative Fellow Tina Smith, and General Counsel Mitchell Rogovin:

Resident Fellows

Gar Alperovitz
Charlotte Bunch
Robb Burlage
Ivanhoe Donaldson (on leave)
Marvin Holloway
Christopher Jencks (on leave)
Milton Kotler
Michael Maccoby
Leonard Rodberg
Frank Smith
Ralph Stavins
Arthur Waskow

Visiting Fellow

Cynthia Washington

Associate Fellows

Eqbal Ahmad
Barbette Blackington
James Garrett
Karl Hess
Walter Hopps
Paul Jacobs
Saul Landau
Roger Lesser
Staughton Lynd
Sidney Morgenbesser
Jim Ridgeway
Steve Roday
Joe Turner

The same source lists 29 Visiting Fellows and 56 Associate Fellows under the heading "Past IPS Faculty" as follows:

Visiting Fellows

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| David T. Bazelon | Marvin Holloway |
| Barbette Blackington | Gerry Hunnius |
| Robert Borosage | Lloyd Jensen |
| Jeremy Brecher | Gabriel Kolko |
| Rita Mae Brown | Michael Maccoby |
| Charlotte Bunch | Leonard Rodberg |
| Linda Carlson | Herbert I. Schiller |
| Judith Coburn | Frank Smith |
| Frankie Clark Cox | Richard Sobol |
| Ivanhoe Donaldson | Ralph Stavins |
| James Garrett | Anselm Strauss |
| Rose Goldson | Jean Wiley |
| Paul Goodman | John Wilson |
| Cherif Guellal | Martin Wolfson |
| Karl Hess | |

Associate Fellows

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| Allen Appel | Paul Jacobs |
| Thomas Adler | Richard Kaufman |
| Allen Austin | William Kissick |
| Berl Bernhard | Ralph Lapp |
| Barbette Blackington | Hylan Lewis |
| Colin Carew | Robert Livingston |
| Antonia Chayes | Staughton Lynd |
| Edward Cohen | David Morris |
| Bruce Detweiler | Rick Margolies |
| Rick Diehl | James R. Newman |
| Brent Dillingham | Stanley Newman |
| Robert Engler | Robert Parris |
| Marc Estrin | Harvey Perloff |

Associate Fellows , cont'd.

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Bernard Fall | Earl Ravenal |
| Clyde Ferguson | Jim Ridgeway |
| Charlotte Featherstone | David Riesman |
| Ronald Goldfarb | Sam Rosenkranz |
| Edward de Grazia | Franz Schurmann |
| Charles Halpern | Ben Seligman |
| Chester Hartman | Fredric Solomon |
| Robert Hausman | Sol Stern |
| Jack Heller | I.F. Stone |
| Stephen Hess | Gresham Sykes |
| Julius Hobson | Leo Szilard |
| Walter Hopps | Joe Turner |
| Michael Hudson | Nicolo Tucci |
| Saul Landau | Lee Webb |
| Michelle Russell | David Wemhoff |

An appendix to the earlier IPS publication, The First Three Years of the Institute for Policy Studies, 1963-1966, also listed many of the same people in the three main categories, but with minor differences. David Riesman was carried as a Visiting Fellow rather than as an Associate Fellow, while Robert Eichholz, attorney and former General Counsel for the Mutual Security Agency, was listed among the Associate Fellows. The list of Resident Fellows included Barnet, Raskin, Burlage, Jencks, Kotler, and Waskow, along with one individual not carried on the later list: Donald N. Michael, a Resident Fellow "on indefinite leave" and former "Senior Staff Member of the Brookings Institution."

IPS FELLOWS IN EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT

It is noted that the foregoing lists of IPS Fellows include a number of people drawn from the professions and from government. For example, Eichholz, de Grazia, Hausman, and Kaufman are all attorneys, while the following were all identified as being part of the academic community:

- * David T. Bazelon, Visiting Professor, Rutgers University Law School;
- * Antonia Chayes, Phillips Foundation Fellow in Academic Administration, Howard University;
- * Bernard Fall, Professor of International Relations, Howard University;
- * Clyde Ferguson, Dean, Howard University Law School;
- * Paul Goodman, Visiting Professor, San Francisco State College;

- * Lloyd Jensen, Associate Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University;
- * Hylan Lewis, Professor of Sociology, Howard University;
- * David Riesman, Henry Ford II Professor of Political Science, Harvard University;
- * Fredric Solomon, Professor, Howard University Medical School;
- * Anselm Strauss, Professor of Sociology, University of California.

Among those identified as having ties to government were:

- * Robb Burlage, formerly Director of Research, State Planning Office, State of Tennessee;
- * Robert Eichholz, former General Counsel, Mutual Security Agency;
- * Robert Hausman, former assistant to Senator Estes Kefauver;
- * Jack Heller, former official, Agency for International Development (AID);
- * Stephen Hess, former staff assistant to President Eisenhower who has more recently been with the Brookings Institution;
- * Richard Kaufman, legislative assistant to Representative Henry Gonzalez and, at a later point, staff economist with the Joint Economic Committee under Senator William Proxmire;
- * William Kissick, Special Assistant to the Surgeon General of the United States;
- * Robert Livingston, former Director of Research, National Institutes of Health (NIH);
- * Stanley Newman, legislative assistant to Representative William Fitts Ryan.

RADICAL ACTIVISTS IN IPS

Several others in the preceding lists are of special interest from the standpoint of the radical bias among IPS-affiliated

people. Data on such movement types as Barnet, Raskin, and Waskow, as well as Burlage, Bunch, Webb, and Jencks, have been cited in earlier portions of this study. It may be instructive, however, to cite a representative sampling of the evidence about a few others -- recognizing, of course, that not everyone affiliated with IPS over the years necessarily shares all of the same predilections:

- * IPS Fellow Eqbal Ahmad has been a spokesman for the revolutionary People's Bicentennial Commission (PBC) and was involved in the destruction of Selective Service records in 1971. He is also known to be a close friend of Tariq Ali, a leading activist in the Trotskyite Communist Fourth International who also works for the Transnational Institute, a major IPS operation.
- * Barbara Bick, a member of the IPS staff, was identified as a member of the Communist Party, USA, in sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951. In later years, she worked actively for Women Strike for Peace and for the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice, the latter group cited by the House Committee on Internal Security as being dominated by the CPUSA.
- * IPS Fellow Ivanhoe Donaldson was a leader in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a violence-prone organization. In 1969, he traveled to Puerto Rico with Stokely Carmichael to conclude a formal agreement between SNCC and the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI), a Cuban Communist-oriented revolutionary group now known as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).
- * IPS Fellow Cherif Guellal has been publicly described as "the Algerian terrorist."
- * IPS Fellow Paul Jacobs, according to the sworn testimony of Representative Larry McDonald before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 26, 1976, is "a San Francisco-based writer and former Peace and Freedom Party activist who identified himself in sworn court testimony in 1964 as a former member of the Communist Party, U.S.A." (The Peace and Freedom Party was itself cited as Communist-dominated by a California Senate committee in 1970.)

- * IPS Fellow Saul Landau is well known as a pro-Castro and pro-Allende propagandist of considerable accomplishments.
- * I.F. Stone, former IPS Associate Fellow, was once described by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as among the most typical and active supporters of Communist fronts in the United States. The author of a book arguing that the Korean War was caused by South Korean aggression against North Korea, Stone has supported activities of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), cited by the House Committee on Internal Security as "tightly controlled by the Socialist Workers Party," and is a member of the National Council of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), cited many times in Congressional reports as a front for the CPUSA.
- * Peter Weiss, an IPS Trustee, is the husband of Cora Weiss, prominent pro-Hanoi "peace" activist who headed the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the CPUSA-front National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

An official list of "IPS Fellows, 1974-1975" includes substantially the same people, with some deletions, as those listed in 1973, with one exception. Added to the holdovers is one Roberta Salper, a woman with a solidly radical background. Salper, prior to joining the IPS operation, was a member of the U.S. Zone Central Committee of the Castroite Communist Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Subsequent to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, she arranged for private meetings at IPS with Cheddi Jagan, pro-Communist leader from Guyana. One of the reported results of these meetings was a coordinated campaign against the pro-United States Jamaican Labor Party. Salper was also a "colleague and friend" of murdered former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier, who, according to available evidence, seems to have had ties to Communist Cuba and specifically to the DGI, the Soviet KGB-run Cuban secret police apparatus.

RECENT IPS FELLOWS AND SUBJECT AREAS

The list of "IPS Fellows, 1974-1975" is of particular interest because it also includes material identifying each Fellow's "Current Field of Interest." The complete list is as follows:

- * Eqbal Ahmad, "Imperialism; U.S. foreign policy; Third World politics"

- * Gar Alperovitz, "Economic alternatives; psycho-spiritual movements"
- * Richard Barnett, "Multinational corporations; international political economy"
- * Charlotte Bunch, "Radical feminism"
- * Robb Burlage, "Labor movements; regionalism; health policy"
- * Bettina Conner, "Regional political economy; problems of the aged"
- * Marvin Holloway, "African resource issues"
- * Milton Kotler, "Neighborhood government and economics"
- * Michael Maccoby, "Social character, psycho-structure, and work"
- * Marcus Raskin, "Political philosophy; reconstructive knowledge"
- * Leonard Rodberg, "Political economy; technological alternatives"
- * Roberta Salper, "Latin American political economy and social movement"
- * Frank Smith, "Black economic development"
- * Ralph Stavins, "Political theory"
- * Cynthia Washington, "Urban political developments"
- * Arthur Waskow, "New religious forms; Judaism and Middle Eastern politics"

IPS "LECTURERS-ON-OCCASION"

The roster of past Institute "Lecturers-on-Occasion" is an informative one, reflecting participation in IPS programs by prominent leaders from government, the professions, organized labor, the academic community, and various diverse segments of the American radical community. As listed in Beginning the Second Decade, 1963-1973, they have included:

Saul Alinsky, organizer

Arthur Alderstein

Dr. Robert Anderson, former assistant to the Surgeon
General

Hannah Arendt, historian; author of The Origins of
Totalitarianism

Hazel Barnes, Professor of Philosophy, University of
Colorado; author of An Existential Ethics

Martin Bernal

Marcella Bernstein

Norman Birnbaum, Professor of Sociology, Amherst College

Robin Blackburn

Oscar and Leah Boete, leaders of Dutch Kabouter movement

Marshall Bloom, founder, Liberation News Service

Julian Bond, representative to the Georgia State House

Edward Boorstein, author of The Economic Transformation
of Cuba

Kenneth Boulding, Professor of Economics, University
of Colorado; author of articles and books on con-
flict and social organization

Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party

John Brademas, Congressman from Indiana

George Brain, educator

Juan Mari Bras, leader of Puerto Rican Independence
Movement

Sister Jacqueline Brennan

Alan Burgess

Paul Buhl

Berenice Carroll, student of peace research; Professor
of Sociology, University of Illinois

Antonia Chayes

Ken Cloke, organizer, National Lawyers Guild

Benjamin Cohen

Charles Daniels, Oxford University

Elizabeth B. Davis

Joel Dencker, co-author, No Place to Go: The Making of
a Free School

Diane Di Prima, poet

Dr. James Dixon, Antioch College President

Marlene Dixon, University of Chicago

Robert Duckles, Wright Institute; founder of Radial
Enterprises

Julius Duscha, director, Washington Journalism Center

Larry L. Dye

Amitai Etzioni, Professor of Sociology, University
of Chicago

Joseph Featherstone, journalist, The New Republic

Andrew Feenberg, Professor of Philosophy, Duke
University

Oliver Fein, Health PAC

Bernard T. Feld, physicist; editor of Impact of New
Technologies on the Arms Race

James Foreman, Executive Secretary, Student Non-violent
Co-ordinating Committee

Hyman H. Frankel, Re-employment and re-education

Paulo Freire, author of The Pedagogy of the Oppressed;
Latin American educator

Edgar Z. Friedenberg, sociologist

Eliot Friedson

James Frost, educator and historian

Roslynn Gabrielsky

Lloyd Gardner, historian

Everett Gendler, activist rabbi

Erving Goffman, sociologist; author of Asylums and
The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life

Arthur Goldschmidt, US representative to United Na-
tions ECOSOC

Robert Gould

Dennis Goulet, Center for the Study of Democratic
Institutions

Jack Greenberg

Robert Hall

Charles V. Hamilton, Columbia University

Paul Hare

Michael Harrington, author, The Other America

David Harvard

Dr. Samuel P. Hays, University of Pittsburgh; author,
The Response to Industrialism

Richard Hensman

Dr. Charles Herzfeld

William Hinton, author of books on Communist China,
including Fanshen

Britt Hume, journalist; assistant to Jack Anderson

Dr. Floyd Hunter

Stephen Hymer

Brank Horvat, economic advisor to government of
Yugoslavia

Robert Jungk, Austrian sociologist; Institute for the
Study of the Future

Ervine Kelly, American Federation of Teachers
Kenneth Keniston, psychologist, author of The Un-
committed: Alienated Youth in American Society
Oe Kenzaburo, Japanese author
Alice Koller
Ekkahart Krippendorff, German Extra-parliamentary
Opposition

Sidney Lens, labor organizer; editor of Liberation
magazine
Michael Levin
Richard Levy
Earl Lucas, mayor, Mound Bayou, Mississippi
Gerda Lerner, author, Black Women in White America

Richard McCleary
Charles McLauren
Leslie McLemore
Al McSurely, Southern Conference Educational Fund member
Eric Mann, former prisoner; reporter for Boston Phoenix
Herbert Marcuse, Department of Philosophy, University
of California at San Diego; author of One Dimensional
Man
Thomas Matthew
Klaus Meschkat, German Extra-parliamentary Opposition
Arnold Miller, President, United Mine Workers of America
Walter Millis
George Milly
Daniel Mitchell, Black Economic Research Center
Jim Morey, radical economist
Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish sociologist; author of An
American Dilemma
Jan Myrdal

Paul Nejelski, NYU Law School, Chairman of Bar Associa-
tion Committee on Criminal Justice, the Courts
& Researchers
Wolfgang Nitsch, Institute for Bildungsforschung in der
Max-Planck-Gesellschaft
H.L. Nuberg
Dr. Hari Naidu, Stockholm International Peace Research
Institute

David Obst, Dispatch News Service
Ericka Owen, photographer

Nora Piore
Francis Fox Piven, sociologist, co-author of Regulating
the Poor
Jerome Pollack, geologist

Jonah Raskin, co-editor, The University Review

George Rathgens, physicist

Julia Reichert

Armando Rendon, author of Chicano Manifesto

Judy Richardson, Student Non-violent Coordinating
Committee

Fletcher Robinson

William Rose, The Guardian

Robert Rosen

Peter Rothstein

James W. Rouse, mortgage banker; author of No Slums
in 10 Years

Vincent Roux

Eric Salzman

Lorna Salzman

Daniel Schechter, Africa Research Group

Bernard Schiffman

James W. Silver, historian; author of Mississippi:
The Closed Society

Malcolm Slessor

Margaret Small, Professor of American Studies, State
University of New York at Buffalo

Michelle Smiley, dramatist; feminist

Lou Smith

Michael Smukler, School of Social Science Research

Louise Sohn

Robert Stokes

Jeremy Stone

Harvey Swados, Professor of Literature, University
of Massachusetts; author of The American Writer &
the Great Depression

Paul Sweezy, economist; editor, Monthly Review

Michael Tanzer, author of The Political Economy of
Oil in Under-developed Countries

Ann Thompkins, co-chairperson, U.S.-China Friendship
Association

Dale Tilley

Niccolo Tucci, Italian historian

C. Merton Tyrell

Brady Tyson, North American Congress on Latin America

Annemarie Troger, German Women's Movement

Robert Wald, biologist, Harvard University

Robert Wall, former FBI agent

James Warburg

Barry Weisberg, Bay Area Institute; author of articles
on ecology

Kerr L. White; physician; editor of Medical Care Research

Lee C. White, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission

Stephen B. Withey

Karl Dietrich Wolff, leader, German Students for a Democratic Society

Robert Paul Wolff, Department of Philosophy, Columbia University; author of The Poverty of Liberalism

William Worthy, journalist, The Boston Globe

Frederick S. Wyle

Beverly Woodward

Whitney Young, Urban League

Joseph Zimmerman, Office of Economic Opportunity;
director of Community Action Programs

RADICAL ACTIVISTS AMONG IPS LECTURERS

Many of those on the foregoing list are easily recognized because of their accomplishments in scientific and other areas. Others, however, while less known, are equally as significant because of their ties to demonstrably radical movements. Bloom, for example, is identified as founder of Liberation News Service, and it is instructive to note that LNS was characterized in a publication of the House Committee on Internal Security as "a New Left pro-Castro, pro-Hanoi news dissemination service." In like manner, Boorstein is a well-known propagandist for Fidel Castro and an eclectic joiner, having been affiliated with fronts for the Communist Party, USA, the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party, and the Maoist Progressive Labor Party.

Cloke is identified as an organizer for the National Lawyers Guild, which has been cited many times in official Congressional reports as a Communist front organization of long standing. Hinton is more than just an author of books on Communist China; he has been identified in sworn testimony as a former member of the Communist Party, USA, who later became a secret member of the militantly Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU). Lens is, it is true, a labor organizer; but he has also been one of the principal leaders in the Chicago Peace Council, one of the most tightly CPUSA-controlled "peace" groups in the country, as documented in hearings and reports of the House Committee on Internal Security. He also served at one time as leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a "subversive and Communist" organization. McSurely's organization, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, has many times been cited as a Communist front in authoritative reports issued by Congressional and state committees.

One final figure among the "Lecturers-on-Occasion" may be of special interest. Brady Tyson was a founder of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), characterized by the House Committee on Internal Security as "an offshoot of SDS." He has also been featured at a public forum conducted by the Trotskyite Communist Socialist Workers Party, according to public press accounts, and has recently been in the news as a Latin American specialist for Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations.

IPS AFFILIATES AND SUBSIDIARIES

As the Institute for Policy Studies has expanded the range of its programs, a number of subsidiary and affiliated groups have been created to operate in particular areas of interest. These groups include the Cambridge Institute for Policy Studies, operated primarily by Christopher Jencks and Gar Alperovitz, who served at one time as an assistant to Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin; the Bay Area Institute in San Francisco, run by Barry Weisberg and former SDS activist Alan Haber; and the Institute of Southern Studies (ISS) in Atlanta, Georgia, in which Julian Bond reportedly played an active role as organizer. An Institute of Women's Studies was established at the IPS facility in Washington, D.C., as were the Energy Project, Community Technology, Inc., and the Political Economy Program Center (PEPC).

The ISS was incorporated in Atlanta in 1970 and has described itself as "a radical research organization" working "to research military spending and corporate power structures in the South." It publishes a journal, Southern Exposure, which has listed the following people as members of the ISS Board: Julian Bond; Dr. Peter Bourne, Assistant Director, White House Special Office on Drug Abuse; N. Jerold Cohen, an attorney; John Lewis, Voter Education Project; Howard Romaine; Robert Sherrill, author; Sue Thrasher; and Elizabeth Tornquist, journalist.

A health professions-oriented group affiliated with IPS is Health PAC, described by IPS as having been "founded with the help of the Institute for Policy Studies in 1967," while an IPS-affiliated group also exists in Toronto, Canada, under the leadership of Gerry Hunnius. Prior to going to Canada to organize the Toronto facility, Hunnius had worked on an IPS study of "the possibility of workers' control of factories based on [the] Yugoslav model."

Another IPS operation is the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies (NCASLPP), which functions from offices at IPS headquarters in Washington, D.C. The Conference

has described itself as a "network...to strengthen the programmatic work of the Left" that hopes to "end the sense of isolation felt by elected and appointed officials, organizers and planners who share a populist or radical outlook." The NCASLPP has as its National Director Lee Webb, former SDS leader; its staff includes Ann Wise and Barbara Bick, whose earlier identification as a member of the Communist Party, USA, has already been cited. Participants in the first conference conducted by NCASLPP in 1975 included Tom Hayden; former Chicago 7 defendant John Froines, later Vermont Director of Occupational Health and Safety; D.C. City Councilman Marion Barry, a former SNCC leader; Madison, Wisconsin, Mayor Paul Soglin; and Soglin's assistant, one James Rowen, who is also the son-in-law of Senator George McGovern. Another prominent activist reportedly involved in this enterprise was Sam Brown, organizer of the 1969 Vietnam Moratorium who now serves as head of ACTION, a position to which he was appointed by President Jimmy Carter.

IPS TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

One of the most significant IPS subsidiaries is the Transnational Institute, described by IPS in the following language:

The Transnational Institute, organized in 1973, reflects a growing realization that the social and political problems of the United States -- pollution, the energy crisis, militarism, unemployment and economic injustice -- are in fact part of larger global problems and that practical alternative solutions to American situation [sic] can only be developed within a global context. For this reason the Transnational Institute has opened its first center in Amsterdam to hold conferences and promote research on such themes of transnational importance as the international politics of the energy crisis and the development of standards of personal criminal responsibility of government officials for war crimes and crimes against humanity. A major focus of the Transnational Institute will be the impact of the developed countries on the Third World. Activities of the Transnational Institute will also develop from and contribute to the Encyclopedia for Social Reconstruction.

(The Encyclopedia is a major proposed IPS publishing project which is described by the Institute as a means by which to "seek an end to oppressive thought and action" by developing "a new body of knowledge," characterized as "knowledge for liberation." General editors for the project are Barnet and Raskin.)

Those affiliated with the IPS Transnational Institute (TNI) include several already cited in this study, including Barnett, Raskin, Paul Jacobs, Saul Landau, Orlando Letelier, Eqbal Ahmad, and Roberta Salper. Three others may be of special interest:

- * Michael Klare, an IPS/TNI Fellow, has long been a leading member of the previously-mentioned SDS offshoot, the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), described by SDS leader Carl Davidson as the "intelligence gathering arm" of the so-called New Left. Klare has also reportedly taught seminars on United States arms policies in Havana, Cuba.
- * Basker Vashee works for the TNI in Amsterdam and has been described as a "member of the national executive" of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), a Communist-oriented African terrorist organization supported by the Soviet bloc.
- * Tariq Ali, one of the more prominent TNI activists, also serves as head of the British section of the Trotskyite Communist Fourth International, an apparatus which has actively supported terrorist violence in many parts of the world. Ali's International Marxist Group (IMG) has reportedly provided manpower and logistical support to the urban guerrilla terrorists of the Irish Trotskyite Saor Eire.

OTHER AREAS OF IPS ACTIVISM

It has been reported that IPS helps fund the anti-intelligence magazine Counterspy and that IPS offices have served as meeting places for SDS activists. Other groups with which IPS has been active have been Jews for Urban Justice; Federal Employees for a Democratic Society, an anti-Vietnam war group; the Drum and Spear Bookstore, run by a SNCC organizer who died in a bomb explosion prior to the H. Rap Brown trial in 1970; and the Center for Emergency Support, which helped whites assist victims of the 1968 riots in Washington, D.C. IPS has also encouraged the growth of the Washington Free Press and the Quicksilver Times, two "underground" anti-establishment newspapers, and helped found the District of Columbia chapter of the Committee of Returned Volunteers (CRV), described by the House Committee on Internal Security as "an organization of former Peace Corps volunteers that is on record as favoring a Communist victory in Vietnam."

Another area in which IPS has been active has been so-called "community control of the police," for which the Institute reportedly received a grant of \$8,500 from the Stern Family Fund in 1968. In 1969, the same foundation provided IPS with a grant of \$10,000 for a study of policies, practices, and problems in connection with the renewal of television and radio broadcasting licenses by the Federal Communications Commission; the Institute was at one time engaged in an attempt to prevent the renewal by the FCC of the license held by WMAL television, a Washington, D.C., station, on the ground that WMAL was insufficiently responsive to the needs of the black community.

Perhaps the most active IPS participant in a great many of these projects has been Arthur Waskow. In this connection, Stephen Clapp wrote in the December 1969 Washingtonian Magazine that the "Central figure in all such efforts is Arthur Waskow," whom Clapp characterized as "probably the greatest single reason that the Institute maintains what credibility it does have among blacks and young people."

IPS SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES

IPS Fellows and associates have also published almost innumerable books and articles on a wide variety of subjects, including education and foreign and defense policy, but perhaps the most extensive ongoing IPS project over the years has been the wide-ranging seminars and conferences held under Institute auspices. The subjects have included, among others, the following:

- Education
- Civil rights
- "Dimensions and Determinants of Health Policy"
- The "Future of the Republican Party"
- "Problems and Prospects of the New South"
- "The Cold War"
- "Military Procurement"
- Foreign aid and our relations with the Third World
- "Economic Development in the Third World"
- Energy and the energy industry
- "Impact of Corporation [sic] on US Society"
- "Political Character"
- Political economy
- "Left and Right"
- "Women's Liberation Studies"
- "Local Government"
- "Rural Reconstruction"
- "Neighborhood Economy"
- "Community Development"
- "Regional Development"
- "Appalachian Development"
- "Housing and Property"
- "Experimental Education"

Various "IPS Conferences" have also been held, including sessions on "Communications and Consumers," "Communications and the Developing Nations," "Community Control and the Police," "U.S. Strategy in Asia," "Crisis of the American Economy," "Strategy, Programs, and Problems of an Alternative Political Economy," "Issues of Impeachment," and one on the question "Does TV Serve the Needs of Youth in the Black Community?" Participants, as in all other IPS activities, have been drawn from a wide range of individuals, including government, labor, and the professions. The December 1973 conference in "Issues of Impeachment," for example, included as participants the following:

Ralph Nader, consumer advocate;
Leonard Boudin, radical attorney;
Paul Warnke, Carter arms control appointee;
Marcus Raskin;
Steve Schlossberg, United Auto Workers;
Congressman John Conyers of Michigan;
Arthur Waskow;
Admiral Eugene LaRocque, Center for Defense Information;
Richard Falk, Princeton University;
Richard Barnet;
Peter Weiss;
Charles Morgan, American Civil Liberties Union; and
Garry Wills, author of Nixon Agonistes.

IPS AND MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Of particular significance have been those seminars conducted expressly for "Congressmen and Congressional Assistants." These have included programs on "Defense and Disarmament," "New Trends in Public Policy," the "Impact of the Vietnam War on American Society," "The State and the Corporate Economy," and "New Era of American Policy and Statecraft." Among members of the Senate and House of Representatives, past and present, who have been listed in official IPS publications as participating in Institute seminars and conferences during the past several years are the following:

Senator Clifford P. Case
Rep. F. Bradford Morse,
Rep. Alphonso Bell,
Rep. Robert Ellsworth,
Rep. Joseph McDade,
Rep. William Maillard,
Rep. Augustus Hawkins,
Rep. Robert Kastenmeier,
Rep. Henry Gonzalez,
Rep. John Conyers,
Rep. John Brademas,

Rep. Phillip Burton,
Rep. John Dow,
Rep. Don Edwards,
Rep. Albert Quie,
Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal,
Rep. William Fitts Ryan,
Rep. Donald Rumsfeld,
Rep. Al Ullman,
Rep. George Brown,
Rep. Thomas L. Ashley,
Rep. James A. Mackay, and
Rep. William Widnall.

It is noted that many of the foregoing are listed as members of the influential Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL), as documented in the Heritage Foundation study of MCPL issued in April of this year. [Copies of the MCPL study are available upon request.]

CONCLUSION

It is, of course, impossible to say with any precision to what extent the Institute for Policy Studies may have had a measurable impact upon the American government and its policy-formation processes. The documented record of IPS contact with members of Congress, with their principal aides, and with other governmental officials and people drawn from influential segments of the media, the professions, and the academic community must speak for itself. The rest is, of necessity, in the realm of conjecture.

It is noted, however, that in November 1975, the Institute released a volume on The Problem of the Federal Budget, prepared by a special IPS/Transnational Institute "Study Group on the Federal Budget." This volume of 120 pages was most comprehensive, dealing with such topics as unemployment and the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, the public debt, education, energy, transportation, agriculture, health, science and technology, and national defense and national security policy. It may fairly be said that the study was essentially radical in its approach, advocating a sharp increase in government involvement in the economy coupled with a severe reduction in our national defense and national security postures.

It is of particular interest here because of the reason for its being written. The study was commissioned by Representative John Conyers of Michigan by letter dated February 20, 1975. This letter, reproduced in the preface to the IPS budget study, was also signed by 46 other members of the House of Representatives -- many of them, again, also part of MCPL:

Bella S. Abzug, New York
Herman Badillo, New York
William M. Brodhead, Michigan
Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, California
John L. Burton, California
William Clay, Missouri
Ronald V. Dellums, California
Robert F. Drinan, Massachusetts
Walter E. Fauntroy, District of Columbia
Harold E. Ford, Tennessee
Michael Harrington, Massachusetts
Augustus F. Hawkins, California
Henry Helstoski, New Jersey
Andrew Jacobs, Jr., Indiana
Robert W. Kastenmeier, Wisconsin
Edward I. Koch, New York
Robert L. Leggett, California
Ralph H. Metcalfe, Illinois
Abner J. Mikva, Illinois
Parren J. Mitchell, Maryland
Robert N.C. Nix, Pennsylvania
Richard L. Ottinger, New York
Charles B. Rangel, New York
Thomas M. Rees, California
Benjamin S. Rosenthal, New York
James H. Scheuer, New York
Pete Stark, California
Andrew Young, Georgia
George E. Brown, Jr., California
George Miller, California
John Krebs, California
Anthony Toby Moffett, Connecticut
David W. Evans, Indiana
Michael T. Blouin, Iowa
Richard Nolan, Minnesota
Max X. Baucus, Montana
Norman E. D'Amours, New Hampshire
Andrew Maguire, New Jersey
Helen S. Meyner, New Jersey
Frederick W. Richmond, New York
Henry J. Nowak, New York
Stephen L. Neal, North Carolina
Robert W. Edgar, Pennsylvania
Kenneth L. Holland, South Carolina
Robert Krueger, Texas
Herbert E. Harris, Virginia

It can be argued, of course, that the above group is hardly representative of the ideological mainstream in the House of Representatives; but it must also be conceded that many of

these men and women have been among the vocal and visible of the members of the House in recent years. They have formed a left-liberal grouping that has managed to achieve a degree of influence in certain specific areas and which has been especially active in the national defense-national security area. Furthermore, the repeated participation in IPS activities by certain members of Congress indicates that they must be in substantial agreement with at least part of the Institute's program, aided in large measure over the years by grants from our major tax-exempt foundations despite the available evidence of the obviously radical aims of the Institute's principal leadership. These facts should be considered in light of the documented record of what the Institute for Policy Studies truly represents.

(May, 1977) The foregoing analysis is one in a series prepared by the Research Staff of the Heritage Foundation. This publication is intended as a background analysis of an important organization which affects public policy. Any comments should be addressed to the Director of Research at The Heritage Foundation, 513 C Street, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.